Grass Roots Report: The 1,001 Other "Radulovich" Cases, See Pages 2 & 3

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Dulles As Germany's (Wobbly) Trojan Horse

The Dulles warning to France went over big here with the "go it alone" crowd; "go it alone" means go it alone with Germany and Japan. Dulles claims to be Francophile, but even Dulles's hatred for Communism and Hitler's pact with the Soviet Union did not keep him from opposing aid to Britain and France in 1939 and 1940. Union of Germany and France as he advocates it is an old pan-German and Hitlerite conception (see pages 104 and 105 of George Seldes's fascinating new autobiography, "Tell the Truth and Run"). It means domination of France and West Europe by the Reich.

Dulles has alarmed his friends, the Germans, who fear a new "encirclement" via another Franco-Russian entente. Moscow and Warsaw have been helped in their campaign to woo the French. This is one in a series of blunders which reflect Dulles's animosity to the British and French, and the arrogance behind his sanctimonious phrases. The British are annoyed over the way he has interfered in Iran and Egypt, and blocked their adhesion to the Anzus pact with their own Pacific dominions. The Catholic M.R.P., chief mainstay of Atlantic Pact policy in France, would like to negotiate an end of the Indo-Chinese war but are frustrated by an American veto. While Italy wants Trieste as the price of adhesion to the EDC, the Soviet zone has elected a Yugoslav as secretary of the Danube Commission. "Containment" is cracking up.

The threat of French isolation was undercut by Dulles himself and next day by Defense Secretary Wilson. What happens to that "agonizing reappraisal" when Dulles said at Paris that the failure to approve the EDC would not upset the Atlantic Pact? And Wilson next day, without making ratification of EDC a condition, spoke of giving atomic weapons to France and other NATO members? Geography is in the way of an ultimatum. France is a necessary bridgehead for an American invasion of Europe. As an Atlantic power, America must inevitably defend the other shore of the Atlantic against attack whether from Germany or Russia. France can always lock the Reich in a military straitjacket by a new Eastern Pact. If France has the moral courage, she can make both Washington and Moscow dance to her tune.

European Prototype of Ike's Atom Plan

The U. S. is in danger of falling behind in the race to develop the peacetime uses of atomic energy. France in June of last year and Britain last December launched atomic power programs. Both countries are also participants in an organization of which little has been heard in this country—the European Organization for Nuclear Research established in May of 1952 to study the non-military uses of the atom. The other governments participating are Belgium, Denmark, Western Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. A $30,000,000 laboratory is being erected in Geneva, where construction was approved in a referendum over Communist opposition after safeguards were adopted permitting the Swiss to shut the project down in event of war. Three Soviet satellites, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, were invited to participate originally but turned the offer down. There are some in Washington who regard the Eisenhower atomic proposal as an effort to take this purely European project over, as the Brussels pact was taken over in the Atlantic Pact.

The new Eisenhower plan finds favor in Congressional circles only as a kind of atomic "Marshall Plan" enabling the U. S. to control West European research and development. Both the peacetime development program and the new proposal to make atomic weapons available to NATO will provoke a strong demand in Congress for an international agency to coordinate security safeguards for all the participating countries. The FBI, long jealous of the CIA and the OSS, has already established a beachhead on this assignment with the White House announcement last week that the FBI had been formally assigned the task of investigating all Atomic Energy Act violations, including illegal *export* of materials. Western Europe will be under strong pressure to adopt "American" standards of security as condition for any change in the Atomic Energy Act.

That Korean Truce Talk "Insult"

The Chinese Communists charge that the American military connived in the mass breakout of POW's may have been false, but there is reason to believe that the UN command looked with benevolent eye on South Korean arrangements for this truce violation. Robert Sherrod, writing "The Inside Story of the Korean Truce" *from Seoul* (and therefore subject to censorship) for the *Saturday Evening Post* (October 17) said that last March "our Far East Command made a daring proposal of its own—one which was never published. Why not turn loose the 46,000 anti-Communist prisoners, first the North Koreans, then the Chinese? Wouldn't that automatically solve the prisoner question?" Sherrod wrote, "Such cold war tactics gave Washington cold feet. The answer to Tokyo was No." But the first part of this "daring proposal" of the Far East Command was carried out by Syngman Rhee. The guard was not stiffened to prevent further breakouts until there were protests to Washington from allied capitals, and from Washington to Tokyo.

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The Hounded Champions of The Alien Meet in Chicago . . .

Chicago—Walsh's Hall at 1014 Noble Street might have been the scene of the Hunky wedding in Upton Sinclair's *Jungle*. The Hall lies in a Polish area, one of those incomparably dreary Chicago working class districts which sprawl out across the bare plain, miles away from the opulence of Lake front and Loop. The building is a three-story walk-up, on the top floor of which is the "hall," a barn of a place, with a stage at one end and a small, faintly and grotesquely Moorish balcony at the other. High columns intended to be ornamental line the wall on either side; they appear to be ordinary cast iron waterpipe stood on end by some plumber aspiring in his spare time to architecture. The windows are long and narrow. Through them, even under a cloudless sunny sky, the wintry Chicago landscape managed to look gray and bleak—row on row of ill-matched dirty brick and unpainted facades with gaps of dismal backyard in which there stood a few forlorn trees.

The hall was freshly hung with blue and white banners—"The Bill of Rights Belongs to All," "Stop Police State Terror Against Foreign Born Americans," "Public Hearings on the Lehman-Celler Bill." On the stage, against the faded green trees of what appeared to be a set left over from some forgotten performance of "As You Like It," a big benevolent bear of a woman, six feet tall with gray hair, grandmotherly expression, and one of those round unmistakable Russian Jewish faces, was reading aloud Eisenhower's campaign pledge to revise the McCarran-Walter Act. The woman was Pearl Hart, a Chicago lawyer famous throughout the Midwest for a lifetime of devotion to the least lucrative and most oppressed kind of clients.

This was the opening session of a National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, sponsored by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, one of the last functioning Popular Front organizations.

A Hounded Handful

At that early morning hour the seats beside the long wooden tables set up in the hall were but half filled. That such a meeting should be held at all was something of a miracle. The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born is on the Attorney General's list. It is now involved in proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board to compel the Committee's registration under the McCarran Act as a Communist front organization. Its devoted executive secretary, Abner Green, a tall, lean man with the kind of long cavernous face Goya liked to paint, served six months in jail after refusing to hand over the organization's records to a Federal grand jury in July, 1951. The Secretary of the local Los Angeles committee, Rose Chernin, was unable to attend because she is under bond in denaturalization proceedings. The Secretary of the Michigan committee, Saul Grossman, who was present in Chicago, goes on trial in Washington this week for contempt of Congress in refusing to hand his records over to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Despite this, about 300 delegates from 16 States had arrived, some from as far as Seattle and Los Angeles, and 150 more were to follow. They seemed, considering the circumstances, an extraordinarily cheerful lot. But looking at them during the day one was fascinated by several observations. The first was that the audience was a forest of gray heads, almost entirely made up of elderly folk—those who appeared young in that gathering were, when one looked at them more closely seen to be middle aged. This is unfortunately true of most radical meetings in America nowadays; it is as if those with their lives still ahead of them are too cautious or cowed to appear at such affairs. What struck one next about the gathering was the absence of foreign accents—with few exceptions one heard American speech indistinguishable from that of the native born. Assimilation has done its work and relatively few new immigrants are coming in. One also began to notice that though the deportation drive hits the labor unions hard, there were no labor union representatives present, other than men from a few so-called "progressive" locals. The Left labor leaders were conspicuous by their absence; the Taft-Hartley oath made their appearance at the meeting of a blacklisted organization too hazardous.

In the Footsteps of the Holy Office

"One of the conditions [for escaping the stake] was that of stating all they knew of other heretics and apostates, which proved an exceedingly fruitful source of information as, under the general terror, there was little hesitation in denouncing not only friends and acquaintances, but the nearest and dearest kindred—parents and children, and brothers and sisters."

—Lea's Spanish Inquisition, Vol. 1, p. 165

The Only Organization of Its Kind

Not so many weeks ago the case of an Air Force officer named Radulovich attracted national attention. He was about to be blacklisted as a security rick because his father and sister were supposed to have Communist views or connections. Edward Murrow put the case into a brilliant TV show and the Secretary for Air finally cleared Radulovich. But this comparative handful of elderly folk in Chicago were fighting a last ditch battle for a thousand and one other Raduloviches arrested—as the elder Radulovich may be—for deportation. This Committee, just 21 years old, is the only one of its kind.

On the eve of the conference, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born was given the treatment. The local Hearst paper published a smear attack and telephoned the Committee's various sponsors and scheduled speakers in an effort to frighten them off. The campaign failed. Among those who spoke at the banquet in that same hall that night were Professor Louise Pettibone Smith, Professor Emeritus of Biblical History at Wellesley; Professor Robert Morss Lovett, and Professor Anton J. Carlson, the University of Chicago's famous physiologist, who had not intended to speak but changed his mind after a call from the Hearst press. The sight of these three aged academic Gibraltars of liberalism was inspiring, but again it was sad to note that the distinguished speakers—like the audience—were elderly.

Sick and Elderly Victims

An amazingly large proportion of the victims, too, are elderly. In his comprehensive report, Abner Green pointed out that of 300 non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings, almost one-third—93 in all—are over the age of 60 and have lived in this country an average of 40 to 50 years. The kind of sick and aged folk being hauled out of retirement for deportation as a political menace to this country would be ludicrous if it did not entail so much tragedy. Two cardiac patients, Refugio Roman Martinez and Norman Tallentire, died of heart attacks in deportation proceedings. The economist and writer, Lewis Corey, long an anti-Communist, died September 16 at the age of 61 in the midst of deportation proceedings begun against him because he was a Communist 30 years ago. In California, a Mrs. Mary Baumert of Elsinore, now 76 years old, was arrested last month for deportation although she had lived here 51 years. In Los Angeles on

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. . . A First-Hand Full Report from A Lonely Battlefront

November 4, Mr. and Mrs. Lars Berg, 69 and 67 respectively, were locked up on Terminal Island for deportation to their native Sweden; they have been American residents since 1904. One Finn arrested for deportation has lived here since he was 3 months old!

As in the days of the Inquisition, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the FBI are engaged in using fear to recruit informers, even informers against their own kin. A striking case was that of Francesco Costa of Rochester, N. Y., arrested for deportation to Italy at the age of 83 because he refused to provide information to the Justice Department that could be used to deport his son, Leonard, to Italy. A triple squeeze play was brought to bear on Clarence Hathaway, once editor of the *Daily Worker*. When he declined to be used as an informer, denaturalization proceedings were brought against his wife, Vera. Her brother, William Sanders, 55, an artist who had never engaged in politics, was himself arrested after he refused to give testimony against his sister. Sophie Gerson, wife of Simon W. Gerson, one of those acquitted in the second Smith Act trial of New York Communist leaders, was arrested for denaturalization to punish her husband.

The Savage Unfairness of the Left Itself

By a political Freudian slip, no mention was made at the conference of one of the worst cases of this kind. In the Fall of 1952, Earl Browder and his wife were indicted for perjury in her original immigration proceedings and in February of this year Mrs. Browder was arrested for deportation. These punitive actions followed a warning from Bella Dodd to Earl Browder (see this *Weekly*, No. 7, March 7, 1953) that he had better show some sign of "cooperation." Though the ex-Communist leader in lonely poverty has withstood the temptations of the rewards which would be his were he to sell his "memoirs" to the FBI and the magazines, little consideration has been shown him. This reflects the savage unfairness with which the Left treats its heretics, however honorably these heretics behave.

The deportations drive cuts across every basic liberty. Fifteen editors associated with the radical and foreign language press have been arrested for deportation or denaturalization, including Cedric Belfrage of *The National Guardian*, Al Richman of the West Coast *Peoples World*, and John Steuben of *"The March of Labor."* The foreign language editors arrested are elderly folk editing papers which are dying out as the process of assimilation steadily cuts into the number of Americans who still read the language of "the old country." Almost one-third of those arrested for deportation are trade union members or officials. Ever since the Bridges *cases* began (the government shamelessly is about to launch a fourth try), the use of deportation as a weapon against labor militants has been overt and obvious. Cases are pending against James Matles and James Lustig of the United Electrical Workers and against the wife of William Senter, of St. Louis, another U.E. official, now up on Smith Act charges.

The Nowak Case

One of the leading victims of the current drive, Stanley Nowak, was present in Chicago. After ten years as a Democratic member of the Michigan State Legislature, part of this time as floor leader, he is facing denaturalization proceedings. This Polish born legislator played a role in the organization of the automobile industry and was first elected to the legislature in 1938 from the West Side area of Detroit, a Ford worker constituency. Similar charges ten years ago ("communist and anarchist sympathies") were dismissed with an apology by then Attorney General Biddle but have been revived under the McCarran-Walter Act.

The most numerous and widespread abuses have occurred in the treatment of Mexican-Americans. Reports to the conference from Los Angeles pictured terror and lawlessness—the use of roadblocks and sudden raids on areas in which persons of Mexican origin live, the invasion of their homes without warrants, the exile to Mexico of native born Americans of Mexican parentage. The Mexican-American community is kept steadily "churned up" to maintain it as a source of cheap labor in constant flux. Green reported that during the first six months of 1953 more than 483,000 persons were deported to Mexico—while almost half a million others were being brought in for low paid agricultural work.

The government is using "supervisory parole" to harass and intimidate radicals who cannot be deported because no other country will accept them. Three Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett and Claudia Jones, out on bail pending appeal, were summoned to Ellis Island recently. They were told that they were being put under supervisory parole, must report once a week, submit to physical and psychiatric examination, abandon all political activity *and give information under oath as to their associations and activities.* They are challenging the order in the courts.

Snaking Up to St. Patrick

Last March 17 Attorney General Brownell made a particularly vulgar St. Patrick's Day speech to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick—their parents once the target of similar anti alien hysteria. In this he announced that 10,000 citizens were being investigated for denaturalization and 12,000 aliens for deportation as "subversives." Action on this scale would dwarf the notorious deportation raids of the early twenties.

The suffering in terms of broken families and disrupted lives is beyond the most sympathetic imagination. As serious is the moral degradation imposed by spreading terror. People are afraid to look lest they be tempted to help, and bring down suspicion on themselves. This is how good folk in Germany walked hurriedly by and shut their ears discreetly to tell-tale screams. The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born is fighting to keep America's conscience alive.

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JENNINGS PERRY'S PAGE

Even Fear Won't Work in a World Scared Stiff

The next bomb we loose at Eniwetok, they tell us, well may obliterate Eniwetok. Secretary Dulles ought to go first to warn the gooney birds. Not that the birds would be likely to thank him with anything but indignation. They have no place to go. But we owe them the same chance we have given the Europeans to cooperate or perish unwept; and in his own feeling Mr. Dulles would be prepared for the rebuff.

He should have been prepared when he went to Paris to put the heat on the Europeans, for it is not necessary nowadays to go far from home to find out that living things have run just about as far as they will go. Had he waited only one more day in Washington he would have had an illuminating preview of the kind of response his threat was fated to evoke over there.

As it was, he and Val Peterson had the same row to hoe at the same time: while Dulles was laying it down to the ministries over there the Civil Defense Administrator was laying it down to the American mayors. The alarm and notice from the government at Washington were the same. "Stir yourselves," Dulles told the Europeans, "or be responsible for your own doom." "Your cities are sitting ducks," Peterson told the mayors. "It's up to you." The alarm fell as flat, the resentment flared as promptly in one case as in the other.

Perhaps the reaction at home would have made no difference in our course abroad. However had Mr. Dulles waited, he would at least have known what to expect *la bas*, since anybody could have foreseen that a proposition—a threat—which so signally failed to impress even the astute and provident heads of our own centers of population would not be convincing to the less enlightened leaders of lesser breeds across the seas. M. Bidault might be as ready to make sacrifices for the security of France as is Mayor Clark for the security of Philadelphia; but when Mayor Clark concedes that American cities will not strain themselves to organize and support civil defense, it hardly can be surprising that M. Bidault and many of his countrymen are reluctant to accept the rearming of Germany as vital to *their* defense.

The question remains of why on both sides of the Atlantic the fearful picture our government paints does not electrify the people; and the answer lies, I suspect, both in the out-size of the picture and the inconsistency of its details. One day our President describes, in tons of TNT "equivalent," the new weapons poised to destroy civilization; the next our Secretary of State brusquely admonishes the French to compose their differences with the Germans, and ratify the EDC pact, on pain of being cast loose to "commit suicide alone." The logical French immediately ask why with something really big like global suicide in the wind the United States does not make the same all-out effort to compose its differences with the Russians that we urge upon them with regard to their enemy?

We tell them shortly to put aside an ancient rivalry and "trust Adenauer." The French reply that it is the East-West rivalry which menaces all existence, not just the existence of two nations—and why don't we look for a little good faith in Malenkov?

The particular anxieties are engulfed in the overriding anxiety. The American mayors have heard over and over of the new bombs that can wipe out whole cities and the countrysides around them, that "the only way to win the next war is to prevent it." When they are called upon to raise the funds with which to build defenses for their citizens, they ask what defenses? and what hole they could find the means to dig that would save their city in the event the city should have time to reach the hole?

Mr. Dulles pointedly hints to the Europeans that without better cooperation the American army may withdraw; Mr. Peterson informs our cities, now "in the front line," that unless they fend for themselves federal funds and the armed forces will be inadequate to preserve them. The free world friends and the local magistrates seem inclined to the view that the "threat" Washington dwells upon already is too big for them.

The evidence is that even one more atomic object lesson at Eniwetok would be supererogatory.

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